THE Nation

July 17, 1954
20¢

America's No. 1 Strong Man

by Edgar Kemler

The People's Atom

by Leland Olds

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Benelux Disunion — *C. de Dood*

Maury the Maverick — *Hart Stilwell*

JUL 1 ? 1954

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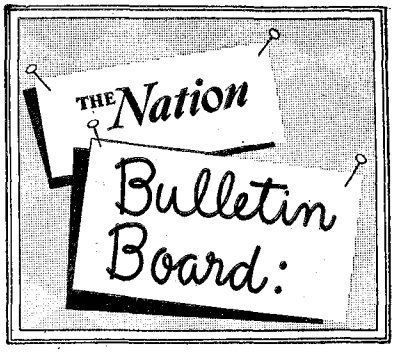

I HAVE BEEN celebrating *The Nation's eighty-ninth birthday this month* by looking over the first four issues published in July, 1865. Since this is summer, I found myself skipping such imposing items as The Essence of the Reconstruction Question and The Social Influence of the National Debt. Instead, I got sidetracked by the advertisements.

It seems that even in those less (?) commercial days, the testimonial was a sturdy aid for the enterprising copy writer. In an advertisement for the "Universal Clothes Wringer with Cog Wheels" ($10, cheaper model $8.50) no less a lady than Mrs. Henry Ward Beecher says: "The inventor of this machine may have the satisfaction of knowing that he has changed one of the most toilsome parts of woman's work into a most attractive amusement."

Hoop skirts represented a formidable problem, but the Messrs. West, Bradley, and Carey offered the solution: "A lady having enjoyed the pleasure, comfort, and great convenience of wearing our Duplex Elliptic Steel Spring Skirt for a single day will never afterward willingly dispense with their use."

Mindful of today's claims by real-estaters that virtually every suburban area —no matter what the distance—is "only forty minutes from the heart of the city," I noted that a gentleman offered for sale his country estate, "only one hour from the city." He did not specify whether it was by foot, horse, railroad, or what.

The Metropolitan Insurance Company seemed to have the jump on its rivals by promising "if premiums are paid in gold, losses will be paid in gold." And a forecast of the present plethora of good titles in the paper-back book trade was clearly evident in the dignified announcement by Ticknor and Fields that they were publishing the works of Whittier, Browning, and Holmes in tasteful, dignified editions for only 50 cents in order to gain them wider distribution.

The Nation was an immediate success. The first two issues became collectors' items. By the third issue the magazine could boast a roster of "regular and occasional" contributors including Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, James Russell Lowell, John Greenleaf Whittier, Samuel Eliot, Henry James, and William Lloyd Garrison. It could also refer loftily to snide observations on it from organs like the New York *Times* as "inaccurate and of no consequence," something to be expected from the "light, spicy newspapers."

"A MILLION YEARS AGO," says our distinguished foreign editor, J. Alvarez del Vayo (former Foreign Minister of the Spanish Republic), "I played a good game of soccer." I mention this apropos of a newspaper story from Gibors, an industrial area in southern France, where Spanish Republicans in exile have formed a soccer team to compete in a league with local French clubs.

The grand prize for the winning team is a special cup which the league has designated the "J. Alvarez del Vayo cup." The Spanish youths, under the direction of two veteran Republicans, Beltran and Perales, have scored an impressive series of victories, and stand a good chance of winning the Del Vayo trophy. This news has naturally delighted our foreign editor. Mindful of his ever-optimistic spirit, I expect him to show up at the office any day now with a pair of knee guards.

IT'S STRICTLY a busman's holiday when our editorial director embarks on a vacation. In the course of a few weeks of alleged holiday, Carey McWilliams found time to speak on the baleful impact of McCarthyism on foreign and domestic policies under the auspices of the following groups: Great Neck Forum, Great Neck, New York; Chicago Committee for Academic and Professional Freedom, Chicago, Illinois; Friends Committee on Legislation, Berkeley, California; First Unitarian Church, Los Angeles, California; and the Southland Jewish Organization, largest Jewish group in Southern California. His address before the Quaker group in Berkeley was recorded by radio station KPFO for subsequent rebroadcast.

ONE OF OUR READERS tells me he has some two years of *The Nation* in his files. Says he'd be happy to give them to some individual or organization. If you would like them, please drop me a card. MARTIN SOLOW

Letters

Mr. Miller's "Freedom Bill"

Dear Sirs: Permit me to express my unqualified approval of Arthur Miller's "Modest Proposal." Oh, there will be protests. No doubt you have already received a sizable batch of poison-pen letters from professional bleeding hearts, phony liberals, and self-appointed guardians of our civil liberties. (How typical of this latter group that they should fail to recognize the *only* practicable means of preserving those liberties.)

However, the plaintive yelps of the red-tinged fraternity merely prove that you, and Mr. Miller, are on the right track. You may rely upon unwavering support from the responsible leaders of public opinion. It will be crystal-clear to every thoughtful American that had this proposed law been in effect ten years ago, we would not have lost 600,000,000 people to the Communists.

A suggestion in closing. Mr. Miller's secondary title (Proposal for the Pacification . . .) while comprehensive and lucid, appears somewhat cumbersome. I believe that this proposed law, when ready for submission to the legislative body, could more appropriately be designated the Freedom Bill.

Riverside, Calif. MILTON SMITH

More Comment on Frank

Dear Sirs: Waldo Frank's plea to rediscover the "real roots of our culture" is a challenge and should act as a rallying point for all who want to salvage the best our Western culture has produced. Humility is our great need; we are so apt to say that we have all the answers.

The need for humility applies particularly to our dealings with the peoples of Asia. How true it is, as Mr. Frank says, that "all our wealth and gadgets do not bring us comfort . . . And all our power does not succeed in making two billion East Europeans, Asians, and Latin Americans behave as we do." Why should we want them to? They have their own contribution to make, and it is a valuable one. For six years I taught in the hinterland of China, and I learned much more of value than I ever taught.

I am deeply appreciative of Mr. Frank's article. I'd like to make it must reading for everyone in our government from President Eisenhower and our Congressional leaders down through state and municipal officials CORA MAY SLEDGE

Chicopee Falls, Mass.

Dear Sirs: Waldo Frank's obfuscations, I am afraid, only add to, rather than decrease, anti-Communist hysteria. I find his article obscure and murky. The amazing thing is that *The Nation* considers it the opening of a debate. A debate about what? How can you debate when you're not sure what the man is talking about? All I could gather is that he is anti-Communist and is angry at anybody who is not, or at those who are anti-Communist in *their* way rather than *his* way.

Frank, of course, is entitled to his opinion and it is the duty of *The Nation* to be the forum for various and conflicting opinions. I have noticed, however, that while your political articles are almost always lucid, concise, and liberal, your book-review section is often a maze of obscurantism. So please, in the future, assign—or consign—Frank and his private

(Continued on page 59)

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THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

The Republican Pursuit of Democrats

IS THE leadership of the Democratic Party in Congress capable of recognizing a clear threat to the very existence of that party? This is the issue presented by the action of Senator Butler's Internal Security subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee in urging favorable action on S. 3706, which would add a new category of "Communist organization" to the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950. At present the act applies to two classes of organizations—"Communist-action" and "Communist-front" organizations. S. 3706 would add a third category—"Communist-infiltrated." The wording is all-inclusive; *any* organization could be haled before the Subversive Activities Control Board on a charge, originating in the sole discretion of the Attorney General, that it was Communist-infiltrated.

One need only glance at a document issued by the Republican Policy Committee on May 6, "The Republican Pursuit of American Communists," to recognize that, among other intended victims, the Democratic Party is the target of S. 3706. The statement charges that the Democratic Party has long been "infiltrated by Communists" and that both its New Deal and Fair Deal wings have consistently been at sword's point with the Republicans over "the infiltration question." If S. 3706 is enacted, therefore, one may predict that Mr. Brownell will move at once against certain state and county central committees of the Democratic Party as well as certain local Democratic clubs.

Attorney General or Fuehrer?

Mr. Brownell will of course contend with great piety that he is not attacking the Democratic Party as such, that he is only attempting to "clean up" certain local cesspools of Democratic subversion. But the Democratic Party will be the unnamed defendant. Indeed the groundwork for proceedings of this character has already been carefully laid. In the recent Seattle hearings of his committee Mr. Velde was at great pains to encourage the informer Barbara Hartle to testify that the Democratic Party in Washington had been "infiltrated" by Communists. On the same junket the Velde committee subpoenaed Bert Coffey, a member of the California State Democratic Committee. Mr. Coffey denied present membership in the Communist Party, but his refusal to answer questions about prior membership prompted Representative Clyde Doyle to comment: "You are a Democrat and so am I, so I am urging you on that level to speak out against the criminal Communist conspiracy." Elements of Democratic leadership unquestionably share Mr. Doyle's willingness to cooperate with Republicans in a plot to destroy the Democratic Party.

Failure to defeat S. 3706—and only a united Democratic opposition is likely to defeat it—will place the very existence of the Democratic Party at the mercy of a Republican attorney general. Even if Mr. Brownell were merciful, which he is not, the failure of the Democratic leadership to oppose the bill in Congress will encourage the right-wing Democrats to purge every member of the party who has been named or "fingered" before a committee. And by this time nearly every New Deal or liberal Democrat has appeared on one or another of the various indexes. Thus rank-and-file Democrats should lose little time in demanding that the heads of the party take a position against a bill which, if enacted, would make it possible for Mr. Brownell to fashion a one-party system on the Nazi pattern.

The Right of Asylum

With Colonel Castillo Armas in power as head of the ruling military junta, Guatemala's counter-revolution is off to a rather uncertain start. Its first acts were to suspend the agrarian reform and disfranchise the "illiterate masses," meaning some 73 per cent of the people. Jails and foreign embassies are crowded, the former with members or supporters of the previous government who were not lucky enough to find refuge in the latter.

Secretary Dulles is evidently getting ready to recognize the new regime, as he most certainly should. To refuse to do so would show a mean nature; like a man who refuses to recognize his own child just because it happens to be a bastard. In any case the Castillo setup conforms to a T with Washington's growing predilection for right-wing governments, even though established by force, over left-wing governments, even though freely elected.

The question of asylum may well cause trouble. Mexico, whose embassy is bursting with 500 or more refugees, has requested safe-conduct for former President Arbenz, former Foreign Minister Toriello, and

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In This Issue

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 41

Knowland's Needle 43

ARTICLES

Flank Attack on U.N.: New U.S. Maneuver *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 44

No. 1 Strong Man: The Asia-First Admiral *by Edgar Kemler* 45

McBride Versus Smith: Philadelphia Court Drama *by Alex Marlowe* 48

Benelux Disunion: Why It Didn't Work *by C. de Dood* 49

The People's Atom: Safeguarding the Future *by Leland Olds* 50

Maury the Maverick: He Died Unbranded *by Hart Stilwell* 53

BOOKS

Northern Gothic Painters *by S. Lane Faison, Jr.* 54

"Strange Men in Peculiar Jobs" *by Jeannette Mirsky* 55

New Books in Brief 56

MUSIC *by B. H. Haggin* 58

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 576 *by Frank W. Lewis* 60

LETTERS opposite 41

Editorial Board

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several other leaders of the old regime. Other countries harboring refugees are following suit, and it is clear that a decision cannot be put off long. But the new junta pretends that it must scan the record of each political opponent now sheltered in a foreign embassy; anyone charged with a "common crime" will be held. This ruling could be used to reach President Arbenz and most of his colleagues, since Castillo is assembling a fine collection of charges, ranging from murder to stealing public funds, to lodge against them. But if he follows this course he will collide head-on with Latin America's most stable and revered traditions.

A New York *Herald Tribune* dispatch from Guatemala City suggests that legal support for rejecting the Mexican request "may be found in the argument that signatories in the Caracas convention denouncing communism should not give asylum to Communists." The dispatch fails to mention that another resolution voted at Caracas uncompromisingly backed the principle of political asylum. For the Castillo regime to refuse safe-conduct to refugees who have been given political sanctuary would involve it in a diplomatic row it can hardly afford at this stage. Mexico, in particular, will neither deliver the people it is sheltering nor long endure the intolerable nuisance of keeping them in the embassy.

Our War Against the Kurds

THE shoddiness of the American alibi for arming Iraq is sharply exposed, quite inadvertently, in a recent series of dispatches from Iraq to the New York *Times*. Emphasizing that "no one, Iraqi or otherwise, believes that a force capable of really slowing a major Soviet thrust can be built here, but some Iraqi strength in being might deter the Kremlin from launching an attack," Robert G. Doty quotes American and Iraq sources as stating that the real threat to the Baghdad regime is in the exposed position of the Kurds, who might be open to subversion by the Soviet Union. And it is to guard against this that we are arming Iraq.

The 900,000 Kurds in Iraq—nearly one-quarter the population—have been seeking autonomous or semi-autonomous status. Periodic rebellions have been put down by the Iraqi army with the help of the British. If the danger of Kurdish rebellion with Soviet help is real, then the arming of the Iraqi government only increases the danger. Why would not the Kurds turn their anger both on the Iraqi government and the country which is strengthening Baghdad's military capacity to frustrate their nationalistic aspirations?

The insecurity of the Middle East is real. It stems from social economic and political instability. Iraq, rich in land, water, and oil is an underpopulated country with a 90 per cent illiteracy rate; disease is so rampant that the average life span is 26 years. The per capita income is less than $90 a year. To suggest that giving

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arms to Iraq will stabilize the country, or to arm any Arab state as the first act in the process of seeking security, is only to store up a gigantic headache if not a gigantic disaster. For it can only accelerate the alienation of the people from us, while adding nothing to the military strength of the area. Not one Arab state is secure either against rebellion or a possible Soviet attack.

We may see ourselves in the role of the world's policeman. But do we have enough man power to police 2,000,000 square miles of areas in ferment? If we are truly seeking security, we should abandon our present tortuous policy of seeking to propitiate the amour-propre of decadent governments and get on with a real offer of large-scale development for the area in honorable exchange for settlement of the Arab refugees in Arab countries and a formal end to the Palestine war.

Such a program may not win us an immediate Middle East alliance. It can win us the friendship of the peoples of the area. That friendship is the only solid basis for security.

Knowland's Needle

THE so-called "internationalist" wing of the Republican Party, led as usual by the whip-cracking Mr. Dulles, has scored a tactical if not a strategic victory over the Congressional Asia-Firsters led by Senator Knowland. The Secretary made plain—much plainer than the President—the undesirability of any resolution which would commit the United States to take a walk if Communist China were admitted to the United Nations. He said, in effect, that the resolution was undesirable because it was unnecessary.

In stating this the Secretary made two assumptions, one of which is misleading and the other is unjustified. The first was that Communist China can be kept out of the Security Council by a simple veto. This is a reversal of the American position in 1950, when the Soviet Union sought to gain Peking's admission to the Council. At that time Ernest A. Gross, the United States representative, shared the general view that the problem involved not the admission of a state but merely the acceptance of credentials—Communist China's or Nationalist China's—and was therefore a "procedural" matter and not subject to the veto. The State Department has now clearly changed its mind. But the legal question is still moot, at the very least. According to the New York *Times* some U. N. diplomats are insisting that "the only way out will be to ask for a ruling from the International Court of Justice."

The Secretary's second assumption was that it would take a two-thirds majority to admit Communist China into the General Assembly. The facts are somewhat different. Article 18 of the Charter lists certain "important questions" which must be decided by a two-thirds rather than a majority vote, but the question of the acceptance of credentials is not included. However, the same article permits the Assembly, by a simple majority vote, to add to the list. Should a resolution be presented to admit Communist China to membership in the Assembly, the United States may either ask for postponement of consideration for another year, or request that the matter be voted an "important question" and thus be made subject to the two-thirds rule. In either case the United States would have to gather a majority to have its way. Only after the Assembly had agreed by majority vote that the acceptance of Communist China's credentials was an "important question" would Washington be in the strong position of needing only a one-third vote to block Peking.

Nose-counting will be a favored pastime at the U. N. for the rest of the summer. But by September, when the Assembly meets, so much can have happened to shift the picture that no one's guess at this stage is worth very much, not even Mr. Dulles's.

IF Senator Knowland has lost his itch to take a walk, he has quite clearly not lost his itch to run the Republican Party. His maneuvering last week gained him considerable ground. He helped to keep Secretary Dulles away from Geneva. He succeeded in taking the headlines away from Vice-President Nixon, a very gratifying result from his point of view; and, as an Asia-Firster and a stalwart champion of Nationalist China, he has succeeded in making the question of Communist China's admission to the United Nations a major campaign issue and put the Democrats once more on the defensive.

Under its present leadership, and on the basis of its present policy, it is difficult to see how the Democrats can fight back effectively. Minority Leader Johnson's "me too," even if delivered in a somewhat less strident voice than Knowland's original demand for a walk-out, was clearly not designed to wrest the initiative away from anybody. The truth is that on this issue they are caught in precisely the same trap as they have been on the issue of McCarthyism. Having granted the validity of the objective, they can only quarrel childishly about the means to attain it. What the Democratic leadership needs is a good dose of Churchillian Toryism in international affairs.

Thanks largely to the supineness of the opposition, then, both the Republican Party and Senator Knowland can continue to count their blessings. The party, through adroit maneuvering, has once more averted a split in its ranks; and the Senator, who has his eye on the entrance to the White House as well as the exit from the United Nations, undoubtedly hopes he has strengthened his position in California, which will send the second largest delegation in the country to the Republican National Convention in 1956.

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FLANK ATTACK ON U.N.

New U. S. Maneuver . . . *by J. Alvarez del Vayo*

United Nations

READERS of the New York *Times* probably gave little attention to the following paragraph from a story by Michael L. Hoffman, reporting on the present session of the Economic and Social Council in Geneva: "After Mr. Hammarskjold had spoken, Preston Hotchkis, United States delegate, made one of the sharpest attacks ever heard in the Council on the tendency of the United Nations' three regional commissions—for Europe, Latin America, and the Far East—'to operate without reference to the overriding authority of the Secretary General and the Economic and Social Council.'" Apparently no more than an expression of bureaucratic concern for the proper functioning of the international organization, Mr. Hotchkis's statement was in fact a political attack of a most serious sort. The story behind it should be told.

First, a word about the three regional commissions, their chief executives, and the work they have accomplished. The Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) has its headquarters at Geneva. Its executive secretary is Gunnar Myrdal, and this writer has found so many occasions to praise his work that little needs to be added about him. The Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE), with headquarters in Bangkok, deals with the following territories: Brunei, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, China, Hongkong, India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Laos, Federation of Malaya, Nepal, North Borneo, Pakistan, the Philippines, Sarawak, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam. Its executive secretary is the distinguished Indian economist Dr. P. S. Lokanathan. The Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), centered in Santiago, Chile, is headed by the Argentine economist Dr. Raul Prebisch. Before Perón came to power, Dr. Prebisch's services had been used by successive Argentine governments. A genuine democrat, he declined to serve Perón and came to the United Nations in spite of official opposition from Buenos Aires. Now even Perón takes satisfaction in having it known the world over that an Argentine is doing so excellent a job.

The meetings of the ECE in Geneva are among the most important events of the United Nations. Though its activities are deliberately kept within a firm economic frame, its efforts to develop East-West trade have been an extraordinary political contribution to the cause of understanding among the nations. It has shown great imagination in selecting its areas of study and complete integrity in its reports even on the most "sensitive" of subjects.

ECAFE, during the seven years of its existence, has greatly helped the Asian countries to deal with an economic situation that everybody knows is far from satisfactory. As external loans and investments are scanty, it has proposed measures for increasing national income with little aid from foreign capital. It has initiated a great number of regional-development projects, discovering, advising, and training directors and technicians and thus making technical assistance a reality. The expansion of trade, housing, and all that contributes to improving a desperately low standard of living have received its constant and intelligent attention.

ECLA, composed of the twenty Latin American states together with France, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States, has given special attention to the formulation and coordination of economic-development policies aimed also at improving living standards.

The regional commissions have earned great praise in the United Nations as well as in the countries benefited by their activities. In receiving their executive secretaries when they visited New York, Secretary General Hammarskjold declared his belief that the regional commissions were among the most important branches of the U. N. in the economic field. He made no reference to their ignoring "the authority of the Secretary General and the Economic and Social Council" on which Preston Hotchkis had so caustically commented.

The last session of the General Assembly expressed its confidence in the economic commissions by adding $10,000 each for ECLA and ECAFE: the entire cost of maintaining the three commissions is no more than $4,000,000 a year.

IN VIEW of all this how can one explain the attack by the United States delegate—an attack of unprecedented violence in a discussion of economic and social matters? The answer is to be found in Washington's resentment of the independence of thought and action which characterizes the men who direct and staff the three commissions. Apparently the United States would like to have Point Four, Technical Assistance, and Economic Regional Planning carried out in intimate connection with the necessities of the cold war. It would like to exercise pressure—strengthened by the fact that America after all provides most of the dollars—through the office of the Secretary General in New York. Hence the recent criticism and the talk about the need of "greater coordination."

This is only the beginning of an offensive which must be understood and counteracted in the higher interest of the international organization. In commenting on the Guatemala maneuvers I spoke of the "war against the United Nations." That was war in the political domain. Now we see the first skirmishes in the most important sector of the economic field. The world organization was never designed as a private agency of any great power, whether the United States, Russia, or, one day, China. All the nations—not one nation or another—assumed at San Francisco the historic task of promoting peace and welfare among the peoples of the earth.

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NO. 1 STRONG MAN

The Asia-First Admiral . . *by Edgar Kemler*

THERE is still something bizarre and unreal about Admiral Radford's now defunct plan for American intervention in Indo-China. Reconstructed from unofficial leaks—the official story has not been published—it reads like a spooky chapter out of H. G. Wells's "The Shape of Things to Come."

Two aircraft carriers, the Essex and the Boxer, were deployed in the Gulf of Tonkin; long-range bombers in the Philippines and Okinawa were stripped for battle. On the morning of April 28 a force of 500 planes was to drop tactical A-bombs on the Vietminh troops besieging Fort Dienbienphu. If, as seemed probable, the first strike failed to break the siege, others were to follow. And if the subsequent strikes brought the Red Chinese overtly into the war, which was also considered probable, then America's atomic arsenal would be directed at Peking.

This last contingency was an old Radford favorite. Two years earlier he had told a Congressional committee that Red China would have to be destroyed even at the cost of a fifty-year war on the Asiatic mainland. Radford never got the green light for his strategic concept. For almost a month this spring—from April 3 to April 25—he fought for it almost with desperation. But neither the President nor Congress nor the British nor even the French, who were the ostensible authors of the plan, were willing to share the responsibility with him.

Radford is one of the most articulate and persuasive military men ever seen in the Pentagon. But on April 3, when eight Congressional leaders, including Senator Knowland, a great Radford admirer, first heard of his plan, they were frankly flabbergasted. Among other things, they could not forget that atomic annihilation is now a two-way street. A

Berger

Admiral Radford

few weeks later Vice-President Nixon came to Radford's aid with his famous off-the-record speech to the nation's editors. "It would be more expedient," he said, "to compromise by giving Red China a seat in the United Nations. But we must adhere to principle." Face to face with Radford in London on April 26, Churchill replied to Nixon's argument: "If you adhere to your principle, it will be the greatest mistake you have ever made."

At the moment Congress is piqued at the British because of their "expediency" in urging the seating of Red China in the United Nations. But in April, when the expedient British took responsibility for the final veto on the Radford plan, Congress heaved an audible sigh of relief. In view of Nixon's speech it is ironic indeed that Arthur Summerfield, the Postmaster General, is now suggesting "Ike kept us out of war" as the Republican campaign slogan for the 1954 Congressional elections.

Hindsight makes it appear that the Admiral should have been kept at his desk in the Pentagon. His half-military, half-political role was too suggestive of the "man on horseback" that Americans have traditionally feared and hated. Those who opposed putting a military man in the White House pictured Eisenhower as such a character, though at present he is probably thought of as too tame rather than too belligerent a President. Now the chairman of his Joint Chiefs, whom he consulted about three times weekly during the intervention crisis, has revived the specter. This is not to say that Radford covets the role for himself. On the contrary, he seems to be a remarkably self-effacing and dedicated official. His strategic plans, however, as he points out, were designed to meet "a three-pronged threat" from Soviet Russia—a threat that is politico-economic and psychological as well as military. While these plans were being seriously considered, he loomed larger than Defense Secretary Wilson, who is nominally his boss, and at least as large as Secretary of State Dulles.

As a professional navy man Radford's competence is rivaled by only one or two others. Yet knowing his far-ranging plans, many people were surprised by his appointment to his present job, as he was himself. One day, driving back to the Pentagon after lecturing 200 service officers, he told an aide: "It's hard to believe that I'm actually in this spot. I just haven't faced up to it yet." Radford is so commanding a person that it is difficult to humanize him. With his steel-gray hair, his irregular teeth, his level stare, he looks exactly as a four-star admiral should look. He is so meticulous, his aides say, that he can reach into the cupboard and pack his bags in the dark. Newsmen feel dampened in his presence; yet he has an awkward, disarming smile that sets them partially at their ease. During World War II a pilot under his command remarked of him: "I always had the feeling that if he called me in and looked me in the eye, and said, 'You're to take off in fifteen minutes and you won't come back from this flight,' I'd go right out and take off."

His great success in the military

EDGAR KEMLER, author of "An Ethical Guide for New Dealers" and "The Irreverent Mr. Mencken," is a frequent contributor to The Nation.

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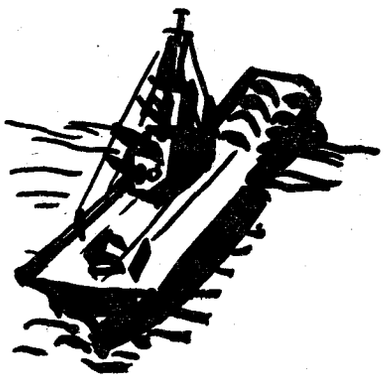
sphere has given him confidence in the politico-economic sphere, which he believes to be closely allied to it. The same paternalistic rule which prevails in the former, he says, could also prevail in the latter. In 1949-50, when he was High Commissioner of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, which includes the northern Marianas, the Carolines, and the Marshalls, he looked after the 54,000 Polynesian inhabitants, a contemporary said, "as though they were his own children." He fostered schools for general instruction and for teacher-training. He set up an Island Trading Company to export copra, the islands' main product, and to import the goods the natives actually needed instead of the canned oysters and so on they thought they needed. He had a tank landing craft fitted out with an X-ray machine, a dentist's chair, and sundry medical equipment and sent it through the islands to provide the natives with free check-ups. The United Nations, the islands' trustee, has commended Radford for these innovations. The Interior Department, which has carried on the Admiral's work since July, 1951, has also been commended. Indeed, until the recent protest of the exiles from Bikini, the atomic-test island, it looked as if United States island administration was a complete success.

Aviation, particularly naval aviation, is the grand passion of Radford's life. When as a wide-eyed boy he saw his first planes at an international air show at Chicago in 1910, "he stood before [those] ancient aircraft," one writer has said, "the way some men have stood before the Mona Lisa or Michelangelo's David or the Colossus of Rhodes." But it was not until four years after his graduation from the Naval Academy—he stood 59th in a class of 178—that he became a qualified pilot. He spent the intervening years of World War I with the Atlantic Fleet. In the decades since then he has flown virtually every kind of naval plane under virtually all conditions. Before the advent of carriers he was catapulted off the decks of cruisers and once was launched out of a battleship gun mount by gear of his own design. Last year, at fifty-seven, he flew an F-80 "Shooting Star."

On Pearl Harbor day Radford was a captain in command of the naval air station at Trinidad. Almost immediately he was brought to Washington as director of aviation training, a critical job in view of our pilot shortage. Promoted to be rear admiral and ordered into action in April, 1943, he soon made a reputation as one of the navy's best flat-top force commanders. His carriers took part in the landings at Baker, Makin, and Tarawa islands, in the air strikes against the Japanese homeland, and in the heavy fighting around Iwo Jima and Okinawa. He was



the first to warn the Navy Department of the need for an effective radar system to counter the Japanese night raids on the fleet. Before this scientific system could be worked out, he used "bat-wings" of defensive fighters without radar, an extremely hazardous system. Time and again he had to send his best pilots out to almost certain death. Among the victims was Lieutenant Commander "Butch" O'Hara, one of our first aces. Today, whenever the war widow or gold-star mother of one of his boys calls on him at the Pentagon, he can always fit her into his crowded schedule.

AFTER V-J Day unification of the armed services was the great issue. Radford warned James Forrestal, then Secretary of the Navy, that he did not believe in unification save with a minimum of civilian interference and a maximum of autonomy for the navy. "I know nothing about this business and would prefer not to get into it," he said. Then a deputy chief of naval operations, he was put in charge of unification work anyway, and Forrestal discovered that he meant exactly what he said. It is difficult now to recall the bitterness of those early negotiations among the different services.

Even after the unification law went into effect—this was in September, 1947—the feuding continued. Forrestal, the first Secretary of Defense, tolerated it, but Louis Johnson, his successor, did not. Indeed, one of Johnson's first acts was to transfer Radford to the command of the Pacific Fleet. Without him to lead them, high-ranking navy officers felt that they were being "nibbled to death in the Pentagon by landlocked strategists." The admirals' resentment simmered under wraps until October, 1949, when the House Armed Services Committee brought it out into the open. After turning down three invitations, Radford finally appeared before the committee and at the risk of his prospects charged the air force with hoodwinking the Secretary of Defense *in re* the B-36 long-range bomber procurement program. Also, if he did not exactly claim the air force had obtained the cancelation of the new Forrestal carriers, he at least accused it of "refusing to recognize carrier planes as a valuable supplement to [its] own strategic-bombing mission." At present there is little doubt that Radford has had the best of the argument. The air force no longer relies on the controversial B-36, and since the newest carrier planes can deliver the A-bomb, carrier task forces are now included in the strategic-bombing mission.

Radford was in his second year as Pacific Fleet commander when the Korean war broke out. His official role in this war was distressingly routine, but it gave him an opportunity to visit the "hot spots" of Asia at least twice a year and to observe the politico-economic situation as well as the military. The tragedy of Korea, he decided, like the tragedy of unification, was the result of too much civilian meddling. If strong military men like MacArthur, Van Fleet, and himself had their way, the United States could recover the initiative and the Communist tide in Asia could be rolled back to the Siberian border, if not beyond. As one commentator put it, this would be a good trick if it could be worked. But here, for the first time, the Admiral was face to face with something that was bigger than he was—the abhorrence of Americans and of the world for preventive war.

During the unification battle General Eisenhower as army chief of staff had had such a bitter taste of Radford's

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temper that he had sworn never to sit at the same council table with him. Radford also regarded Ike as a Europe-First man, not an Asia-Firster like himself. So when the General was elected President, Radford expected that he would be retired forthwith. Then on December 2, 1952, on their famous flight to Korea, the President-elect and his choice for Defense Secretary, Charles E. Wilson, paused overnight at Iwo Jima. Radford, who was also at Iwo Jima, gave them dinner and told them of his strategic plans. Wilson was completely captivated. As he put it later, "Radford's plans were as sharp and clear as the designs of a new-model Cadillac. You could draw up a budget on them, and you would know precisely where you were going." Eisenhower also was much impressed with the Admiral, and it was probably at the latter's suggestion that soon after his inauguration, he "unleashed" Chiang Kai-shek for aggressive action. But the President could not forget the unification fight. "Don't appoint him [as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff] until you are sure his first loyalty is to you and not to the navy," he cautioned. And according to one report he continued to oppose Radford until in early May, 1953, he was finally swayed by overwhelming pressure from the Taft-led Republican extremists.

Radford's appointment was viewed with alarm by virtually the whole liberal press. The only consolation was that since the other three chiefs—Admiral Robert B. Carney for the navy, General Matthew B. Ridgway for the army, and General Nathan F. Twining for the air force—were all Europe-Firsters, no radical change in high strategy need be expected. The others *did* oppose their chairman on the first Indo-China intervention plan, but Radford overruled them, partly by virtue of his fiery personality and partly through the increased powers given the chairman by the reorganization of July 1, 1953.

ON taking office in August, 1953, the Joint Chiefs thoroughly examined this country's long-range defense needs. By the end of October their findings were sent to the White House via Secretary Wilson. This was the origin of the controversial "New Look" doctrine. On the assumption of a ten- or twenty-year period of peace it seemed plausible enough. First, in place of the old dual system of conventional and atomic weapons, it made atomic weapons conventional throughout the three services. Secondly, as a deterrent to Soviet aggression it called for the build-up of air power at the expense, partially at least, of the navy and army. The army was cut from twenty divisions to seventeen, but the cut was to be offset by the increase of the allied ground forces. Although the defense budget for fiscal 1955 was slightly higher than for 1954 —$37,500,000,000 as against $35,300,000,000—major economies were envisaged for the long future. In one of his appearances before Congress, Radford emphasized that economy was also an element in national security.

The assumption of a long peace made the "New Look" seem reasonable. But on January 12, when Secretary Dulles gave his famous "massive retaliation" speech, the New Look was twisted from a defensive or counter-offensive doctrine into an offensive measure directed at Red China and by this new interpretation was revealed to be completely lopsided and unrealistic. The point was made by the army chief of staff, General Ridgway, who is Radford's most vocal opponent on the board. "The new [atomic] weapons are not absolute," Ridgway said recently. "The ultimate objective [of war] remains the control of land areas and the people who live in them. There must still be ground forces to break the enemy's will to win."

Much more serious is the impact of the New Look on our democracy. Democracy, after all, is what we are fighting for, and democracy, if properly implemented, could be a much more effective weapon against the spread of communism than any atomic striking force. It is significant that *Life* magazine, which has approved most of Eisenhower's policies, has accepted the New Look as a temporary expedient only. Said *Life:* "A world of two malevolent colossi is one in which none of this nation's political ideals can make itself at home. It is not a world in which freedom can thrive." In October, 1949, Radford referred to the doctrine of massive retaliation, then merely an air-force pipe dream, as "morally reprehensible." "We must realize," he said, "that the best way to win a future war is to prevent it. We must realize that the threat of instant atomic retaliation will not prevent it and may even invite it. We must realize that we cannot gamble that the atomic blitz will win a war. We must realize that if war is forced upon us, we must win it and win it in such a way that it can be followed by a stable, livable peace." Now he explains his turnabout by saying, "I do not feel that in a day with as much change as we have now you can have four years pass and feel exactly as you did about [these] questions."

THE President has described his personal dilemma in the Indo-China crisis as a struggle for a middle ground between the "unattainable"—that is, an easy victory over the Communist Vietminh—and the "unacceptable," or capitulation to the Vietminh. Yet so long as the President is dazzled by the unattainable, as embodied in Radford's plans, he will surely never find this middle ground, and he will be so hog-tied by Congress and our allies that he will have to accept the unacceptable. Speaking after the President at the Press Club on December 14, Radford said: "We could become a world of nuclear giants and ethical infants in which we know more about war than we know about peace."

Democracy is generally discounted as a practical weapon against communism. The choice, said Admiral Carney, echoing Radford, is between "the smooth dead-end road" of capitulation and "the rougher road" of massive retaliation "that offers a good destination if we have got the guts and strength to manage it." But this "good destination" will remain in doubt until Radford answers his own questions—to wit, how such a war could be won, and if won how it could be followed by a stable, livable, non-Communist peace. At the moment massive retaliation is not politically salable. The Admiral's own efforts to sell it have been unsuccessful, and most of its exponents in the Senate look on it as merely a form of oratory. It is like the Gorgon's head, which was covered with snakes and so hideous that anybody who looked at it was turned into stone. Its effect may well prove so fatal that the President will have to dispense with it once and for all.

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McBRIDE VERSUS SMITH

Philadelphia Court Drama . . *by Alex Marlowe*

Philadelphia

THE latest developments in the career of informer Paul Crouch are being followed carefully by observers of the Smith Act trial of nine alleged Philadelphia Communist leaders. As the government's first witness here, Crouch clashed so strongly with defense lawyers that the reverberations have been felt nationally.

Even before the Alsop brothers tore into him (New York *Herald Tribune,* May 19), Crouch had been exposed on the witness stand in the federal court here. Thomas D. McBride, chief defense counsel, demolished Crouch's recital of his career as a Communist Party member from the 1920's to 1942 (see The Informer, by Frank Donner, in *The Nation,* April 10). It was at this point that the Alsops wrote the story which has since reached the attention of Attorney General Brownell. Now the government has decided to take a closer look at Crouch's court career.

Without diminishing the credit due the Alsops, it can be said that the chief source of this storm is lawyer Tom McBride. The journalistic brothers were correct when they termed McBride "Philadelphia's leading criminal lawyer." Last December he won a hot three-corner election for the post of vice-chancellor of the Philadelphia Bar Association. By tradition he should become chancellor of the 2,800-member group in two years. In local legal circles the feeling is that McBride and his team of nine lawyers are giving the government one of its strongest Smith Act challenges.

The defendants in the local Smith Act prosecutions are David Davis, organizer for Local 155, United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers (U.E.); Walter Lowenfels, former managing editor of the Pennsylvania edition of the *Worker;* and Irvin Katz, Robert Klonsky, Joseph Kuzma, Sherman Labovitz, Thomas Nabried, Joseph Roberts, and Benjamin Weiss, all described as holding various Communist Party positions in this area.

After their arrest in July and August last year and a fruitless search for counsel the nine petitioned the Philadelphia Bar Association for aid. The bar appointed McBride, who quickly plunged into bail proceedings. In most instances the bail was lowered from a maximum of $50,000 to $10,000. McBride then chose a staff from among Philadelphia's best attorneys. Picked were Joseph S. Lord, 3d, co-chief with McBride; Henry W. Sawyer, 3d; Charles C. Hileman, 3d; Joseph N. DuBarry, 4th; William Jenks Woolston, John Rogers Carroll, Robert W. Sayre, Benjamin R. Reed, and Edmund Spaeth. One defendant is representing himself, and another was able to obtain counsel on his own initiative.

McBRIDE epitomizes the great Philadelphia lawyer tradition that dates back to the John Peter Zenger case in 1735. Zenger, a New York publisher, was acquitted of libel charges through a masterful defense by a Philadelphia lawyer, Andrew Hamilton. The decision established truth as a defense in libel cases and bolstered the freedom of the press. Mild-mannered but unyielding, McBride has an angry contempt for injustice and oppression. The *Shingle,* official publication of the Philadelphia bar, paid tribute to McBride in 1951 with these words: "He does not fumble, mumble, jumble, bumble, or crumble . . . and in the lexicon of McBride, there is no such word as can't."

The crucial test in the current trial came when McBride cross-examined Crouch on David Davis. Crouch testified here that he had worked closely with Davis in the Communist Party. But McBride pointed to the court records of the Harry Bridges trial in 1949, which showed that Crouch "had no knowledge of the existence of David Davis." This discrepancy has put the prosecution's case in danger.

The government appears to be shooting the works in what started out to be a routine Smith Act affair. This was evident when Louis Budenz followed Crouch on the stand. Nevertheless, embarrassing information about the courtroom earnings of the former *Daily Worker* editor was elicited by the defense. The witness repeated his story that Communist writings are couched in "Aesopian" language. Questioned by Judge J. Cullen Ganey, however, the prosecuting attorney was hard-pressed to explain as "pretense" the Communist Party's constitutional provision for expelling any member advocating violent overthrow of the government.

After Budenz came Herman Erwin Thomas, an Allentown business man who said he was a member of the Communist Party who quit and then rejoined after five years at the request of the F. B. I. He was supposed to "finger" the local defendants in the alleged conspiracy. Despite the government's opposition, the defense succeeded in subpoenaing documents given to the F. B. I. During Thomas's appearance the court pressed the prosecution to stick closer to the period covered by the indictment —the last three years.

The trial has already gone on for three months and may continue for two more. Public interest was stirred last summer when the defendants were unable to obtain counsel. At that time the bar association, the newspapers, and the people argued that the defendants, whatever the nature of the accusations against them, had a constitutional right to be represented in court. Since then, however, public interest has dwindled. The local newspapers, it is true, have generally presented fair and adequate accounts of the proceedings, and no intimidation campaign such as has accompanied other Smith Act trials has been launched. But protest has been limited to a letter to Brownell by eight

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Philadelphia religious leaders who opposed the use of informers.

This area can point to several important achievements in the civil-liberties field during the last year. McBride won an acquittal last June for Eric Winston, a metallurgical worker charged with failing to mention Communist Party membership in a federal security questionnaire. Judge Ganey threw the case out of court when the government refused to produce its files on Winston. In September, McBride won another significant victory. Anthony Valentino, a Camden labor leader, had been convicted in 1952 on a charge of falsely denying Communist Party membership on a Taft-Hartley affidavit. On McBride's appeal the circuit court reversed the decision.

Last January the Pennsylvania Supreme Court acquitted Steve Nelson of a sedition charge carrying a twenty-year jail sentence. Nelson, a western Pennsylvania Communist leader, was cleared by a four-to-one vote. He is now fighting a Smith Act conviction with the aid of McBride.

Finally, Philadelphians can boast of an open rebuke to Senator McCarthy. In February the Senator was invited here to receive an award from the local chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution. Dr. Samuel Fernberger, professor of psychology at the University of Pennsylvania, promptly canceled his membership in the organization; two other members, including the chapter president, boycotted the affair. The newspapers published a good many letters on the incident, most of them favoring Dr. Fernberger's stand.

Even if justice catches up with Paul Crouch, the Philadelphia defendants would not necessarily benefit, as the Alsops were quick to point out. With five Smith Act defendants recently convicted in St. Louis and seven Connecticut men now under arrest, the trend does not look favorable for them. But at this stage of the trial the possibility of an upset cannot be completely ruled out.

BENELUX DISUNION

Why It Didn't Work . . . *by C. de Dood*

The Hague

BELGIUM, the Netherlands and Luxembourg together form an area little more than half the size of New York State but containing some twenty million people. In spite of the overcrowding, these tiny nations rank with the Scandinavian countries and Switzerland as among the most prosperous in Europe.

In May, 1940, the Low Countries put up a resistance which took the German Supreme Command by surprise and was the strategical reason for the terrible bombing of Rotterdam. Even in those days the question arose: what would have happened if these countries had formed an economic, political, and military union? Might they not have put up an even stiffer resistance to the Germans—and perhaps brought on a western Stalingrad?

Thus the Benelux Union idea was born and flourished in the atmosphere of international good fellowship among the governments in exile in London. Toward the end of the war it had become a concrete political proposition. Allied statesmen saw in it a preparatory step toward a United States of Europe. Even English statesmen, traditionally opposed to the formation of strategically strong combinations on the Continent, were disposed to look benignly on the attempt to unify the Low Countries.

On September 5, 1944, the first Benelux pact was agreed upon. Belgium and Luxembourg, after more than four years of occupation, were again free, though Holland had still to go through the dreadful "hunger winter" before being finally liberated. In this first draft the principle of a customs union among Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg was laid down, with a pact to be worked out later containing provisions making it possible for France and even Italy to join. But Benelux, though full of promise, never got any farther than principle.

In order to understand the reason for this one must look at the economic development of Belgium and Holland since the war. The German occupation of Holland, which lasted until the very last day of the war in Europe, left the country desperately impoverished—its rich colonies in Southeast Asia lost, its industrial organization a shambles, its agriculture disorganized, its once important overseas trade gone, its monetary system in a frightful mess, its population undernourished and in rags. Belgium, though it had not been spared by the Germans, had suffered much less. The Belgian Congo had managed to keep the Allied nations steadily supplied with raw materials, including precious uranium. Belgium emerged from the war a rich country and took its place among creditor nations. The Dutch market being a good one, Belgian business men were favorably disposed to having Holland as a Benelux partner.

The situation in Holland, however, developed differently. Before the war Holland had been one of the rich colonial powers. Now, with the colonies lost, a thorough economic reorganization was necessary to change this preeminently commercial country into an agricultural and industrial one. Such a reorganization was effectively accomplished by Professor Lieftinck, Minister of Finance. Inexorably he kept down the standard of living, limiting imports to the absolutely necessary raw materials and finished products. Relentlessly he fought inflationist tendencies and the impending wage-price spiral. Despite the severity of many of his measures "Pete" Lieftinck became one of the most popular statesmen of Holland, regarded by the common people with a kind of humorous affection. His program could

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never have been carried through successfully without the whole-hearted cooperation of the nation. Under his guidance Holland gradually built a comparatively sound export trade. On January 1, 1954, the country could announce that no further international financial aid would be required—an announcement which drew encomiums from Washington.

The preliminary arrangements for the Benelux treaty had been made at a time when the credit balance between Holland and Belgium showed a deficit of 300 million guilders in favor of Belgium. By 1950, however, Holland had become a formidable competitor, especially for Belgian farmers and industrialists, who now began to look upon Benelux with rather jaundiced eyes. This was particularly true of the textile, boots and shoes, and tobacco industries in Belgium, which began to clamor for protective measures. A Benelux Union might be well and good, but only on condition that Holland would not produce more cheaply than Belgium. A slogan devised by the Belgian boot-and-shoe manufacturers, *"Benelux, voor ons de BENEn voor hen de LUXe"* ("for us the bones, for them the luxury"), had a devastating influence on Belgian public opinion.

But the Dutch government steadfastly refused to raise its wage scale to meet Belgian standards, refusing to sacrifice Holland's export trade and favorable balance of payment for the "noble idea" of Benelux. The year 1950 passed, and the final Benelux treaty was not even drawn up, let alone signed. It died because of the strange paradox that financially strong countries may be economically weak, while financially weak countries may build up a strong economy.

Negotiations still continue on an amicable basis as between neighbor nations. According to the pleasant customs of the Low Countries, Belgian and Dutch representatives meet for dinner in the friendliest possible fashion. Arrangements agreed on at these meetings are sometimes gravely reported in the press as representing progress of the Benelux idea. But such reports are not taken seriously in the Low Countries and should not be elsewhere.

The statesmen negotiating the Benelux Union allowed themselves to be swayed by the noisy objections of private interests. The future security and prosperity for all three tiny countries which might have been brought about have thus been sacrificed to momentary and questionable advantages. This is the tragi-comic failure of the Benelux Union, an example of the common weal sacrificed to private profits.

THE PEOPLE'S ATOM

Safeguarding the Future . . . *by Leland Olds*

THE Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, once guided by the able hand of Senator Brian McMahon, has reported out a long, poorly drafted bill to amend the Atomic Energy Act of 1946. If it should become law in its present form it would unquestionably prove the most far-reaching piece of legislation in its effect upon our social order of any in recent times. At stake is the question of who shall control the ushering in of the atomic age. When McMahon was steering the 1946 bill through Congress, the issue lay between civilian and military control. Today it lies between public and private domination, with the military increasingly close to the corporate interests, whose influence would be greatly enhanced by the bill.

The committee vote to bring the bill to the floor for debate was unanimous. But this does not mean that there is unanimous support for it. On the contrary, committee members reserved the right to oppose it in whole or in part, and before this article is published, a minority as well as a majority report may be in print. As the proposed legislation involves not only the power issue but also the broad battle of small business against big business, there will unquestionably be a major fight over it, particularly in the Senate. The vital question will be whether the influence of the organizations representing the people will be sufficient to offset the powerful pressures exerted by the private-power monopoly and its allies.

The almost single-handed battle against the bill carried on by Representative Chet Holifield has had more effect in throwing its backers off schedule than in securing major improvements. Such changes as have been made are merely on the surface. The objective of the bill remains unchanged: to turn over to private monopoly the vast new energy resource which so far belongs wholly to the people and which was prospected and developed with their money. This would be accomplished through patent and license provisions which lack the safeguards made mandatory by the Federal Power Act in connection with the development of hydroelectric power. All the giveaways contemplated by the Administration's "new look" at our national resources—offshore oil, Hell's Canyon, Niagara Falls, the abandonment of preference for community systems in the marketing of power—all these put together do not equal the extraordinary strengthening of monopoly's grip on our energy economy which will follow if this bill becomes law.

LET US review briefly what the committee has heard from representatives of the consuming public during the hearings on the bill.

Gillmore Tillman, counsel for the City of Los Angeles Department of Water and Power, appearing for the American Public Power Association, directed his attack especially against the proposal in the bill that acquisition of patent rights in the atomic-

LELAND OLDS, for five years chairman of the Federal Power Commission, is one of the country's foremost power experts. This is the second of two articles on the Atomic Energy bill.

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energy field should be restricted only by the right of the United States to requisition in cases affecting atomic weapons or research. Tillman urged that the bill would unnecessarily and improperly make it possible for individuals holding one or more patents to "decide, without restraint, whether or not profoundly beneficial changes should be permitted in our way of life, and if so at what price." He noted that when at long last electric energy from atomic fuel becomes available for the commercial generation of electricity, the people of the country will have paid the overwhelming bulk of the research and development expenses. Then, speaking for the two thousand municipal electric systems and public-utility districts of the country, he added, "It seems to us manifestly unjust that the price at which this energy is made available to the people should be left to the absolute discretion of any person, or corporation, or group, holding a monopoly through ownership of one or more patents." The extent of the monopoly he was talking about may be judged by the fact that a single patent or group of patents in the atomic-energy field could control an energy resource estimated to be twenty times greater than all the coal, oil, and natural-gas reserves of the entire world. Obviously the Cole-Hickenlooper bill, as the new legislation is called, has international as well as national implications of mammoth proportions.

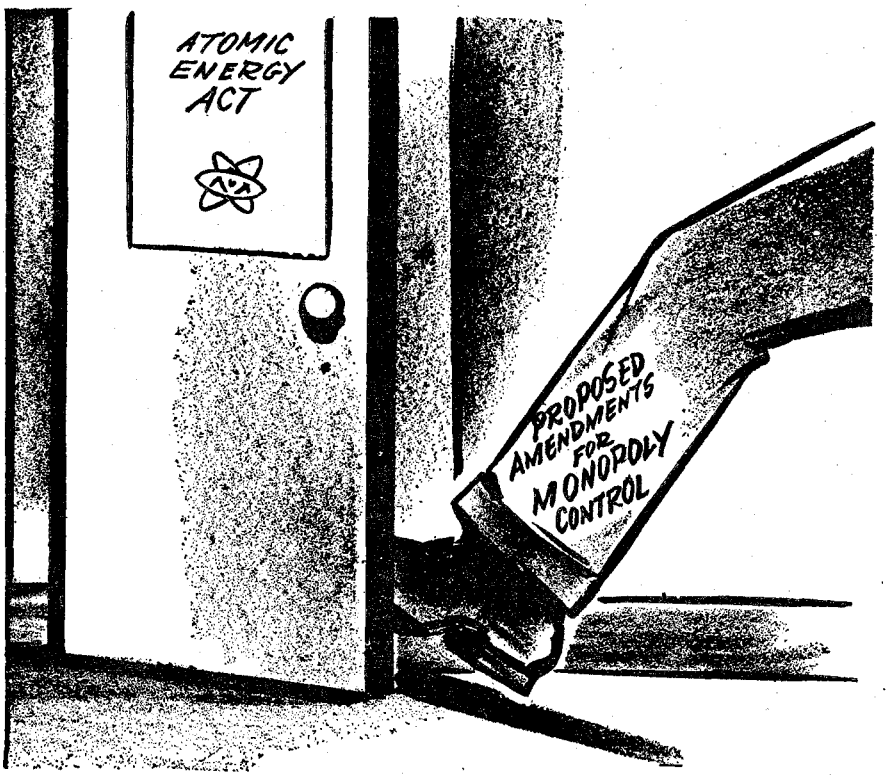
The testimony of Bennett Boskey, a patent specialist and former assistant counsel for the Atomic Energy Commission, supported Tillman's position. He presented a technical analysis of the lack of protection for the public interest in this phase of the proposed legislation.

The C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. attacked the proposed amendments as encouraging the growth of private monopoly. Andrew Biemiller, speaking for the A. F. of L., called for "an absolute ban on patents on the production of special materials [atomic fuel] or atomic energy," and expressed the belief that the Atomic Energy Commission's reserve power of compulsory licensing was "a most important instrument for insuring the development of competitive conditions in the field of atomic energy." He urged retention of the language of the McMahon act, which the proposed legislation would delete, directing the commission to make certain that the activities of any licensee do not foster the growth of monopoly or any other trade position inimical to the entry of new, freely competitive enterprises in the field. Benjamin Sigal, counsel for the C. I. O., threw his organization's full weight against the Cole-Hickenlooper bill's encouragement of monopoly and attacked the proposals as "a staggering giveaway program."

From the farmers of the nation came constructive suggestions for assuring the ultimate use of this new energy resource to better our way of life. Murray Lincoln, speaking for the Farm Bureau Insurance Companies, pictured atomic energy as a key to the doors of plenty for ourselves and for the world. But to achieve such ends, he said, the people must keep control of atomic power. That control, he held, is at stake in the Cole-Hickenlooper bill. Clyde Ellis, speaking for the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, urged Congress and the A. E. C. to continue the federal development of atomic power with special consideration for the needs of these rural systems. He looked forward to the possibilities of a "package-reactor program" which might ultimately give the systems relief from their present high transmission costs and urged generally that the atomic-power program be brought within the confines of established federal-power policy with its preference for public and cooperative electric systems. Finally, President James Patton of the National Farmers Union recommended the establishment of interregional, wholesale-power supply grids, with active federal development of atomic power as a part of such programs. This militant farmers' organization also called for extension of the statutory preference for cooperatives and public bodies to the production of atomic fuel and the distribution of electric energy created by atomic power.

THUS, in spite of the fact that electric power was not mentioned in the original Cole-Hickenlooper bill, consumer organizations recognized the measure as just one phase of the power trust's drive to reverse a public-power policy which has been evolved by the American people during the last fifty years. In this context, at the request of Representatives Holifield and Price, I appeared at the end of the public hearings to analyze the relationship of the proposed legislation to American power policy.

From the inception of the central-station electric industry, American policy has embraced both public and private ownership, with emphasis on the right of communities to choose that form of



Walt Partymiller in the York (Pa.) *Gazette and Daily*

More Giveaways?

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ownership which they believe best serves them. Fundamentally, the proposals contained in the Atomic Energy Act, as it will be finally amended by Congress, will determine the conditions under which a new power resource belonging wholly to the people of the United States will be converted into salable electricity. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that legislation ushering in the atomic-power age be integrated into the body of local, state, and federal law protecting the non-profit portion of the electric-power business and the right of the people to undertake this business on a public or cooperative basis. Federal water-power legislation, evolved over half a century to protect the public interest in hydro-electric resources, offers a precedent for sound atomic-power legislation which would safeguard the people's opportunity to secure an abundance of low-cost electric energy.

Starting with the Federal Water Power Act of 1920, Congress has consistently acted to assure the prior right of federal, state, or municipal development of such resources and, where the development is federal, has provided for the prior right of public or cooperative agencies to distribute the power. A review of the whole range of water-power legislation, including the Boulder Dam Act of the late 1920's, followed by the Tennessee Valley, Bonneville, Fort Peck, Flood Control, and Reclamation acts of the 1930's and 1940's, makes it clear that this legal structure was erected to protect the people against monopoly. A similar body of law must now be constructed to safeguard atomic energy for the people.

In addition to safeguarding the prior right to public development, federal water-power legislation provides a complete set of principles protecting the public interest where private development is authorized. These include such mandatory license requirements as the following: the project must be best adapted to a comprehensive plan for using the resource for all purposes; the licensee must maintain adequate depreciation reserves and after the first twenty years must put a specified portion of excess profits in an amortization reserve; combinations or arrangements to limit the output of electricity, restrain trade, or fix or increase rates are prohibited; the licensee must agree as a condition of the license to abide by reasonable regulation and to charge reasonable rates; the licensee must submit to the full accounting regulation of the Federal Power Commission; the project is subject to recapture by the federal government or to taking over by any state or municipality at the end of the license period; and the company can claim no more than net investment in the project as compensation on recapture or for rate-making purposes. Use of the country's atomic electric-power resource by privately owned utility corporations involves the public interest to at least the same degree as hydro and should be controlled by similar safeguards.

AGAINST this background, let us look at the Cole-Hickenlooper bill as revised and reported by the joint committee. Aside from its provision for somewhat broader cooperation with other friendly nations, the bill would make two major changes in the existing Atomic Energy Act. The first change would open the field to private patents, even retroactively permitting renewal of applications already denied under the existing law. Here we find the only important attempts to meet criticisms leveled at the original draft, probably reflecting the known concern of the Administration over the baldness of the proposed give-away to big corporations. Thus the bill has been altered to extend for five years the commission's power to require the holders of private patents to make them available to others if the patents are of primary importance to proposed production or utilization of nuclear fuel or atomic energy. The bill has also been modified to provide for special awards for inventions or discoveries still excluded from the normal operation of the patent laws. And here we come upon a curious inconsistency in the bill. For while opening the non-military atomic field to private patents on the ground that this is necessary to encourage progress, the weapons field, where technical progress is most urgent, would remain closed to private patents.

The second major change which the bill would make provides for the issuance by the commission of licenses to non-federal agencies for the construction, ownership, and operation of facilities for the production and utilization of nuclear fuel or atomic energy. Such licenses would also permit the possession and utilization of nuclear material, although ownership would be retained by the United States. It is here that the bill is today essentially a power bill, akin to federal-power legislation governing hydroelectric power. And it is here that the bill, as reported, remains absolutely lacking in provisions recognizing the public interest in low-cost power. The provision for marketing surplus energy or electricity from federal plants contains no preference for public or cooperative electric systems. The provisions for licensing non-federal atomic-power development include no preference for public development, no provision for possible federal recapture at the end of the license period, no provision restraining the private developer from claiming more than net investment for rate-making purposes and none of the provisions that require private developers of hydroelectric power to comply with effective regulation. Without such safeguards, no measure for developing the people's atomic-power resources is satisfactory.

An additional point should be noted. Aside from its monopoly features, the Cole-Hickenlooper bill contains certain technical clauses which open the way to large hidden subsidies to private industry at the taxpayers' expense.

THIS article, and the one which appeared last week, were devoted mainly to a discussion of the dangers of the proposed amendments to the Atomic Energy Act in so far as the electric-power field is concerned. But ultimately the whole range of human activities will be affected by atomic power. No one knows what the implications may be for medicine, agriculture, and the food industries, where monopoly based on patents may have equally restrictive effects on the general welfare. Until a thorough survey has been made in each field, the country is not ready for legislation affecting that field.

Except for provisions which open the way to fuller cooperation with friendly nations in developmental work, the bill should be stopped pending thorough consideration of the far-reaching changes involved. Following such consideration, the new legislation should

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be divided into several bills so that each may be given a title and statement of purpose informing the public fully of its major intent. This would open the way to broad popular understanding of the social, economic, political, and international implications of the use of atomic energy as a source of electric power. It would provide opportunity for the drafting of legislation which would secure the benefits of the atomic age to all the people.

MAURY THE MAVERICK

He Died Unbranded . . *by Hart Stilwell*

Austin, Texas

MAURY MAVERICK illustrated perfectly the meaning of his name. The term "maverick" came into use when some cattle acquired by Maury's grandfather, Samuel Maverick, were allowed to run free and wild, and were gathered in and branded by anybody who could lay hands on them.

A maverick is one who does not run with the herd. Such was Maury Maverick. He exemplified what the term "rugged individualist" ought to mean. Even when he joined a "herd"—the New Dealers, for example—Maury stayed put only so long as he agreed on basic principles. He was never branded; he died unbranded.

The inventor of the word "gobbledegook" grew up as a maverick. Back in the early 1930's, when he was tax collector at San Antonio, he threw a lighted cigarette into the paper-filled wastebasket as he dictated to his secretary, Marie Purse. The secretary, who had learned Maury's ways, acted as though she neither smelled nor saw the smoke coming out of the basket. Maury dictated on—Miss Purse took the dictation. Smoke filled the room, seeped out under the door. Finally Malcolm Bardwell, Maury's assistant, burst into the room crying, "There's a fire!"

"God damn it," Maury shouted, "I guess we can have a fire if we want one." Bardwell retreated. As he reached the door, Maury called after him, "And don't come in here without knocking."

Miss Purse kept right on taking dictation.

The incident is significant only in that it reveals the man's tremendous power of concentration. The manner in which his mind worked was demonstrated again and again—when he broke up the old city political ring in San Antonio, in his record in Congress and as head of the Smaller War Plants Corporation, in his remarkable report on the Orient for President Truman, in his leadership of the Loyal Democrats of Texas at Chicago in 1952, where he was double-crossed by Governor Shivers.

Maury Maverick

It is easy to measure the value of Maury Maverick in terms of the concrete, especially in his own San Antonio, where La Villita, a charming little "chunk of old Mexico," the beautified San Antonio River, housing projects, and other civic monuments stand to his credit. It is not so easy to measure the intangibles. Probably most important of all is the feeling of freedom, independence, and equality that Maury Maverick helped to instil in the hearts of the down-trodden Latin Americans in Texas.

A scant twenty years ago the Latin Americans were discriminated against as implacably as is the Negro today. What they needed was a leader. Lacking one of their own race, they turned to Maury Maverick and helped elect him to county office, to Congress, then to the office of mayor. Eventually he might have been in the United States Senate except for a little Texas-Mexican fire-eater named Emma Tenayuca, who battled for years to improve working conditions for the pecan-shellers in San Antonio. When she came under attack, Maury rushed to her defense. As mayor in 1940, he dragged out the entire police force and the city firemen as well to hold off a mob gathered by the American Legion which was threatening to disrupt a "mass meeting" for Emma in the city auditorium. Emma held her meeting—with twelve followers on hand. Damage to the hall after the police and firemen won the battle for her right to speak amounted to $1,000. Damage to the political future of Maury Maverick can only be estimated. Never after that was he elected to public office. For Emma was a Communist.

Maury's fighting spirit remained undaunted to the day he died. The last time I talked to him, he denounced the Roosevelt boys for not killing Westbrook Pegler for the things the columnist had written about their mother. "Maury," I said, "you're advocating the same thing Hitler put into practice—rubbing out the opposition." Maury wasn't impressed. The Roosevelt sons weren't doing their duty, he said; chivalry was dead in the nation.

It is petty to expect consistency in a spirit so strong, so free, so vital, so dedicated to the dignity of man. He has passed on something of his fire to a son, Maury, Jr., who is steadily rising to a place of importance in Texas public life.

HART STILWELL, former editor of the Brownsville, Texas, Herald, *is a novelist and magazine writer.*

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BOOKS

Northern Gothic Painters

EARLY NETHERLANDISH PAINTING. By Erwin Panofsky. Two Volumes. Harvard University Press. $35.

By S. Lane Faison, Jr.

THOSE who are acquainted with Professor Panofsky's writings, particularly his two-volume study of Albrecht Dürer, will be prepared to spare no superlatives in estimating his newest work. Developed from the Charles Eliot Norton lectures which he delivered at Harvard in 1947-48, it offers an elaborate synthesis of the entire question of how Northern Gothic painting originated during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, and how the careers of the first great heroes evolved. These are, of course, Jan van Eyck and Roger van der Weyden. But there is also Jan's older brother Hubert, co-author of the Ghent altarpiece, who takes on in these pages a far less legendary character than heretofore. And there is a great and solemn but anonymous painter, the Master of Flémalle, who turns out to be the initiator before the initiators. His name may or may not be Robert Campin, and there has been a strong body of opinion in favor of considering his work an early phase of Roger van der Weyden himself. The complexities of this problem are almost unbelievable, but unless further evidence is forthcoming I find it difficult to imagine that the last valuable word has not been said in the present work. In fact, the reconstruction of the Maître de Flémalle as a major artistic career extending from about 1415, too early for either Jan van Eyck or Roger van der Weyden, to at least 1438, when both of these masters cast their spells upon him, is one of Panofsky's most astute and intricate unravelings. In a characteristically deft pass, he eliminates two works which provide the main support for what he calls the "unitarian" theory—of the identity of Roger and the Master of Flémalle: "when a work of art gives the impression of having been produced by either one or the other of two great masters, it often turns out to have been produced by neither." And thereupon he proceeds to demonstrate in detail the truth of his general contention.

If there is any recent work of art-historical scholarship more likely to endure than this one I do not know it. For the first time in the English language —and what English!—and more brilliantly than in any compendium I know, the whole subject of how the secrets of light and space and the mystical being of things were unlocked by the Northern Gothic artists is surveyed and brought up to date. Hundreds of panel paintings, scores of illuminated manuscripts, archives of documents, libraries of bibliography—all are fitted expertly into place. Consider even the problem of illuminated Books of Hours—in which the greatest masters of Northern painting prior to Van Eyck were regularly employed. Frequently they were cut up and dispersed, several exist in the same collection today and are thus all the easier to confuse, many were done by several hands, many had extraneous pages bound in by later collectors. To push through this Gothic swamp implies the canniest of guides. But Panofsky is not only a guide. He is a detective, a connoisseur, a historian, a man of letters, a trial lawyer, and the brainiest quiz-kid of them all.

In a work of this nature it must have been difficult to decide what to place in the text (358 pages) and what to place in the footnotes (160 fine-print pages). What the footnotes relate is often fully as fascinating as the text. I conclude, therefore, that the guiding principle of choice is merciful judgment as to how much the merely human reader can retain at first reading. The plates, fortunately, are issued in a separate volume; these five hundred excellent reproductions in black and white provide in themselves a magnificent corpus, and they can be conveniently consulted while one reads the text.

Panofsky's great reputation is in the field of what he calls, by reversion to an old word, "iconology"—the meaning of a work of art in terms of idea and symbol. He has been criticized on occasion, I think justly, for extravagance to the point of prestidigitation in the unfolding of his point of view. In more recent works, however, and especially in this one, the physical presence of the work of art is securely felt—its qualities as a work of the hand as well as a work of the mind. Furthermore, Panofsky now soars higher and probes deeper even than before by following the interactions between idea and image, between mind and hand, between symbol and art. Jan van Eyck is his hero. And in Van Eyck, perhaps the most completely anti-Mediterranean of all great artists, idea and art execute their most involved interlace.

Criticism implies a certain detachment and self-effacement. But in Panofsky we have something that far transcends criticism as I understand it. In Panofsky we have quite simply, and this book is witness to it, a modern genius, a genius whose work is made possible by modern facilities of scholarship. Genius operates, and properly so, on its own rules and momentum—by which I mean only to imply that it is necessary for Panofsky that Jan van Eyck represent the pinnacle, but that it is less necessary for the rest of us to believe so.

"The nuptial chamber of the Arnolfinis," he tells us, "is, in spite of its cozy narrowness, a slice of infinity. Its walls, floor, and ceiling are artfully cut on all sides so as to transcend not only the frame but also the picture plane so that the beholder feels included in the very room; yet the half-open window, disclosing the thin brick wall of the house and the tiniest strip of garden and sky, creates a kind of osmosis between indoors and outdoors, secluded cell and universal space."

I have quoted the above description—of the painting in the National Gallery of London—to give some indication of the texture of Panofsky's mind. But another quotation is necessary to convey his urbanity and the sudden and most unexpected flashes of his wit:

. . . in the prison scene known as Caritas Romana . . . a young lady, Pero by name, saves the life of her aged father by offering him her breast, a demonstration of loving-kindness praised by Pliny, depicted in Roman wall paintings, much favored by the Baroque, gracefully metamorphosed by Guy de Maupassant, and last observed (or so he says) by Mr. Steinbeck near Route 66 in California.

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"Strange Men in Peculiar Jobs"

OF WHALES AND MEN. By R. B. Robertson. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.50.

By Jeannette Mirsky

"OF WHALES AND MEN" is a wonderful book. Dr. Robertson has written an inspired study of an industry of which little is known, a study that pays equal attention to the motives, the men, and the machinery of the enterprise. With a pen that is servant to his alert, questioning mind, his easy gaiety and grave compassion—two qualities rarely joined—he discusses whales, modern whaling methods, and whalemen. The result is a happy combination of facts and insights.

The author is a surgeon and psychiatrist with an abiding interest in "strange men in peculiar jobs." Generally whalemen have been treated either statistically or symbolically; at last they are human beings, seen whole by a trained observer, sharply individualized—their boom and swagger, their comradeship, their aloofness, their competence at work, and the pitiful wildness of their celebrations. A half-dozen men share the billing as featured characters—to New Yorkers it will seem quite appropriate for one of their taxi-drivers to be a sharpshooting harpooner—but all the men, regardless of background or occupation, conform to a certain type. Dr. Robertson regards them as men "too healthy to be acceptable to, or to accept, the civilization into which they were born." This trait, the author suggests, they have in common with writers and artists, with scientists, philosophers, and explorers; the difference lies in the whalemen's unfortunate lack of either the "talent or technique which gives them a spiritual avenue of escape from civilized humanity."

Naturally the book dwells on the elements that make whaling a fearsome adventure—the challenge and terror, the courage and stamina implicit in the pursuit of such prey; the long, lonely seafaring to the uttermost ends of the earth; the dangers to men operating small ships in gale-swept, ice-studded seas; and the bizarre skills perfected by those who hunt the leviathans.

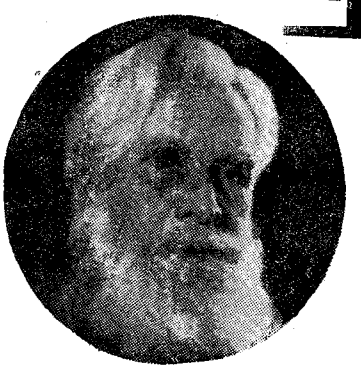
We are introduced as well to the marvels of modern, mechanized whaling. We are taken on a tour of a "factory ship"—some twenty thousand tons of industrial machinery; the radar and echo-sounding gear are explained to us, as well as a "thousand other safety gadgets" installed to protect the $8,000,000 investment. All this is fascinating, but it is the author's constant awareness of the economic imperatives of the venture that places this account alongside of Scoresby's classic study written more than a hundred years ago.

Scoresby closed the great early period of English whaling that had begun when Henry Hudson reported schools of whales in Spitzbergen waters. With England's rise to power, its energy flowed into other channels; by the beginning of the nineteenth century only a few whalers continued the hunt. A young and needy nation, in its turn, dominated the industry for the next fifty years, and nervy New England whalers extended whaling to all the oceans of the world. American whaling began to decline, not, as the author suggests, when Edison "turned the switch of the Pearl Street power station" in 1882, but with the discovery of petroleum in 1859; its death came with the destruction of the whaling fleets during the Civil War.

Today whaling is again important to Britain's economy. Yet it is the rare Britisher who realizes that "his soap, his margarine, the cattlecake that fed the beef he had for supper, the fertilizer that grew the wheat for his bread, the feed he gives his chickens, the vitamin pills he gives his kids, . . . not to mention over seventy different pharmaceutical preparations that appear in his bathroom medicine chest regularly, have all been found for him down here in the Southern Ocean." The potentialities of the vast, still unexploited harvests of the oceans should caution those neo-Malthusians who persist in thinking only in terms of the crop production of arable land.

JEANNETTE MIRSKY is the author of "Elisha Kent Kane and the Seafaring Frontier," "To the Arctic!," "The Westward Crossings," and other books.

HAVELOCK ELLIS PSYCHOLOGY of SEX



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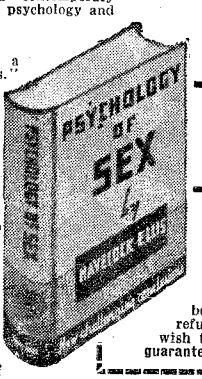

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Exhibitionism
The Sexual Criminal
Analysis of Courtship
Sadism and Masochism
Woman's Change of Life
The Dangerous Age in Men
Homosexuality
Cruelty and Pain in Relations to Sex
Hermaphroditism
Sexual Abstinence
Sex Intercourse & Health
The Choice of a Mate
Preparation for Marriage
Fertility and Sterility
Divorce
Monogamy: Polygamy
The Nature of Birth Control
The Question of Abortion
Frequency of Coitus
The Sexual Athlete: Satyriasis; Nymphomania
Jealousy
Married Love
Sex Life of Unmarried Adults
Dreams: Their Significance
Sexual Fetishes & Symbols
Sexual Adjustments
Sexual Happiness
Age and the Sexual Impulse
The Sexual Impulse and Love
Love Rights of Women: of Men
Esthetics of Coitus
Expression and Repression
Substitutes for Sex
Psychoanalytic Concepts of Sex
Pre-marital Knowledge and Experience
Modesty: Nudism
Childbirth: Sex Life During Pregnancy; Immediately After
Sexual Feelings in Women
Sex Practice in Marriage
Methods and Technique of Coitus
Sexual Pleasure and Conception
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Index

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New Books in Brief

Kierkegaard in Person

SOREN KIERKEGAARD. By Johannes Hohlenberg. Translated by T. H. Croxall. Pantheon. $5.

This is, in the literal sense, a book about the *life* of the great melancholy Dane—and a good one. Johannes Hohlenberg, born and bred in Copenhagen, descended from burghers who saw Kierkegaard every day, has read all the documents, studied all the gossip, and with the skill of a fine novelist projects his scenes and characters. The book begins with a portrait of early nineteenth-century Copenhagen; and from this, gradually, the protagonists emerge: Kierkegaard's father, cursed with a morbid sense of sin; his mother, the servant whom the father seduced and married without love; Regina, the gay girl on whom Kierkegaard's love of life focused and shattered (after her outrageous jilting, she married a respectable citizen who became governor of the Virgin Islands); and of course, Kierkegaard himself, that unresolved amalgam of rake and saint, artist, mystic, and logician.

The book is not a critical biography. The author is too close to his material, too sedulous in elucidating every line of the voluminous works, too dazzled by the apparition of this genius in the small world of Denmark. There is not enough study of the parallelisms and analogies with other anti-positivist, anti-historicist leaders of Kierkegaard's day, from Spain to Russia. But the reader who wants a palpable sense of the man behind the confused, diffused, inspired, and half-articulate philosopher—perhaps the most influential since Rousseau—should read this volume.

The Stationary Mr. Attlee

AS IT HAPPENED. By Clement R. Attlee. Viking. $5.

An unpretentious autobiography of the man who for nearly two decades has led the British Labor Party. In this thin volume the reader will find neither Churchill's magnificent prose and sense of history nor the disclosures of the Hopkins papers. In fact, Mr. Attlee seems determined to tell as little as possible—about state affairs as about intra-party events, about the past as about the present. He attacks Ramsay MacDonald for "the greatest betrayal in British political history," but has little to say about the background of this "betrayal." Though he was Deputy Premier during World War II, he devotes only 10,000 uninspired and unrevealing words to the war. One, finally, seeks in vain for a discussion of the struggle now straining the seams of the Labor Party. And yet the volume is very interesting, if only for the questions it provokes. How did a member of the upper middle class, who learned his social facts as a gentleman-adviser to a boys' club, come to dominate the British Socialist movement? Are Mr. Attlee's very grayness, so reassuring to the marginal voter, and his skill as a moderator the secrets of his success? Can it be that by remaining stationary while the Labor Party has been moving to the left, he is holding a crumbling outpost on the right? The book does not supply the answers directly, but even its hints are intriguing.

Negro Fishermen

GULF STREAM NORTH. By Earl Conrad. Doubleday. $3.50.

This is the third volume in what the author calls an "idiom trilogy," and one which has been marked, in fact, by a special and lovely use of Negro dialect. The first book in the series was the powerful "Scottsboro Boy," written in collaboration with Haywood Patterson, a book which is likely to stand on a level with the early works of Richard Wright. Less well known, Mr. Conrad's "Rock Bottom" continued this vein of writing with the story of a Negro girl who escaped from the semi-feudal slavery of the Florida plantations, not too far away from the lavish winter hotels of the idle rich. The present volume, directed perhaps at a more popular audience but nevertheless an impressive work, is a chronicle of the Negro crews who conduct the menhaden fishing industry, in a modern sequel to the oil hunt of the Pequod. Mr. Conrad uses his narrative to explain the nature of an obscure area in our economic life, to describe the primitive nature of the fishing crews, half farmers and half sailors, to convey the dramatic story of a bad-luck cruise, but above all to express the speech of his people. And it is wonderful talk. The documentary basis of the novel gives it a solidity that is rare today, while the skill of Mr. Conrad's craft makes it a pleasure to read, and his Negro fishermen are remarkable and rewarding personages.

Philippine Expectations

AMERICAN ECONOMIC POLICY TOWARDS THE PHILIPPINES. By Shirley Jenkins. Stanford. $4.

A few years ago the author of this book wrote an article entitled Great Expectations in the Philippines in which, using the Dickens analogy, she considered favorably the economic potential of the new Philippine republic but made

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reservations as to the possibility of its immediate realization. Her viewpoint has not changed in the meantime. This book presents a full account of the 1946 trade and rehabilitation legislation which the United States offered the Philippines but which as a compromise program did little to help establish an independent economy to parallel independence in the political sphere. Mrs. Jenkins not only discusses the many different lobbies that were active on this side of the Pacific but indicates the conflicting Philippine attitudes toward these arrangements.

The American contribution to the Joint Finance Commission and its report of 1947 and the Bell mission of 1950 receive more adequate treatment than do economic events in the period between these two reports or in that following 1950. Perhaps this is explained by an apparent necessity of relying upon materials available in the United States. None the less, it was in these years that the trade-control program was instituted and the first effects of industrialization began to be felt. Both these developments were important as means of achieving a partial diversification of the economy and decreasing dependence on the United States.

Mrs. Jenkins and also Claude Buss in his introduction to the book have performed a useful service in pointing out that the American responsibility to help the Filipinos meet their problems is not yet fulfilled. Specifically this is to be seen in the recent request of the Philippine government for a revision of the existing trade relations with the United States. It is vitally necessary for Americans to realize that in their own interest they must take steps to insure a democratic and healthy Philippine economy.

Coal and Politics

GOLDSBOROUGH. By Stefan Heym. Blue Heron Press. $2 (paper).

Goldsborough is a fictitious Pennsylvania mining town whose name has clearly been suggested to the novelist by that of a late federal judge who wrote a series of decisions against the United Mine Workers. The book discursively covers the period of a coal strike which begins spontaneously in protest against the displacing of two miners by machines. It ends with strong emphasis on the first half of the axiom, "No strike is ever won; no strike is ever lost."

For the miners, in winning, have possibly lost more than they have gained. Their leaders have been framed, and one of them has been driven from town. The two who precipitated the strike have not been reinstated. Company stooges are firmly in the saddle; suspicion and dissension have replaced the strike's solidarity.

So much for the framework on which Mr. Heym has hung his tract.

We do wish he would not blandly equate unionism with communism, or all reaction and anti-labor bias with anti-communism. We could dispense with statements that the miners now own the mines in Poland—technically you and I own the White House, and the mint, and the U. S. S. Missouri—and that there was ". . . a fellow named Marx and another named Engels and a man named Lenin, who started a big revolution and founded a new country where everybody, black and white and brown and yellow, was equal and where there were no bosses to tell where you can't go and where you can't sit and where you can't work." No bosses? It reminds one of Martin Chuzzlewit's retort brought up to date: No bosses, only commissars.

Yet none of these childish pipings obscure the fact that toward the end of the novel Mr. Heym has discovered a very potent propaganda weapon. The leaders of the strikers are framed, crude forgeries of Communist leaflets are planted where they will be damning, and the efforts of the strikers are discredited as the mob howls, "Commie! Go back to Russia."

That truth or justice or improved conditions can be injured by simply hollering "Communist"; that a man can be destroyed, politically, economically, and

FRIENDLY CHALLENGE TO THE CHURCHES

(Beyond selling space for publication of the accompanying material, *The Nation* is not to be held responsible for statements contained in the material)

The men who produced the new Revised Version of 1952 do not believe that the miracle-based Pentateuch is a trustworthy introduction to Hebrew history; and in this respect they represent the position of modern progressive Biblical scholarship. They agree with the late Dr. George A. Gordon, minister of the Old South Church, Boston, who said, "Slowly miracles have ceased to serve me in the evolution of my belief, in the moral campaign of my spirit" (*Religion and Miracle*, Preface).

"Miracle or evolution," therefore, is the antithesis, or dilemma, which organized religion is more and more compelled to face, whether it will or no. If the rise of Israel's mass-belief in one true God is not to be accounted for by supernatural transactions upon a flaming mountain in the desert of Arabia, we are necessarily thrown back upon a process of historical development in order to explain the religion.

Our young people, who are more or less familiar with the methods and results of science in astronomy, geology, chemistry, physics and general history, are graduated without any solid instruction in the cultural beginnings that underlie our conceptions of God and morality. They find, in the curricula of high school and college, much information about ancient and modern peoples; but they scarcely realize that there is a deadly academic ban against Hebrew history in the current scheme of general education.

When young people are exhorted to be religious, they resent the patronizing condescension of those who tell them what to do, but who are unable or afraid to face the dilemma involved in scientific progress that has at length led us into the heart of the atom. The always honest and sincere leaders in our churches must prepare to face the changed conditions that rule the intellectual and spiritual perspective of today. The situation is, of course, appalling, and cannot be dealt with easily or quickly. Suggestions about meeting the difficulty will be found in a circular that you can obtain free by sending a three-cent stamp to L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York. (One free copy only.)

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socially by pinning the party label on him—falsely or not—is a revolting fact, and no one can blame the author for making the most of it. Dies and Velde and Thomas and McCarthy forged and tempered and sharpened this weapon; it is their gift to communism. It is not surprising if Communists accept the gift from their natural allies.

The Romans in Switzerland

ROMAN WALL. By Bryher. Pantheon. $2.75.

It seems almost unfair to refer to "Roman Wall," a quiet and finely wrought book by the Englishwoman who calls herself Bryher, as a historical novel. Although the book is set in the Roman provinces of Helvetia (Switzerland) during the third century of the Christian era, there are few trappings of modern historical fiction. Bryher uses delicate colors rather than turgid contrasts, without straining for "epic" effects. The result is a neat series of pictures capturing a significant moment in history.

While there is no lack of violence in "Roman Wall," as the barbaric Alemanni tribes sweep over the imperial cities of Aventicum and Orba, violence undergoes a characteristic transformation under Bryher's pen. Everything is curiously filtered through a fragile prose, until terror itself becomes poignant. Bryher gives us the story of an era and civilization ending under flame, but presents it so softly, and in so simple and enameled a vehicle, that it hardly involves us at all.

The people in "Roman Wall" have an equally remote attraction—the attraction of two-dimensional figures in a series of tableaux. Valerius, the Roman officer; Julia, his sister; Demetrius, the Greek trader; Felix the convert to Christianity—who unusually enough plays a minor role—among others, resemble figures in the half-ruined Roman murals that still exist in some parts of Switzerland. They are lifelike but long since dead; their fates are softened by the mists of time.

Granted the lack of mobility and the thinness of Bryher's novel, there remains a pastel charm in her account of these last Romans who determined to remain "till the snows or the summers of Alemanni topple us under the thistles and grasses."

Music

B. H. Haggin

IN HIS letter to David Sarnoff Toscanini recalled the invitation in 1937 "to become the musical director of an orchestra to be created especially for me for the purpose of broadcasting symphonic music throughout the United States," and wrote that "the sad time has come when I must reluctantly lay aside my baton and say good-bye to my orchestra." For NBC, apparently, certain consequences followed from his statements: that the orchestra created especially for him, allegedly as a contribution to good music in this country, should be discontinued now that he laid down his baton, and the money it cost need be spent no longer. For me these consequences don't follow at all.

In the first place the group of players assembled for Toscanini in 1937 is today one of the world's finest orchestral instruments, with a claim to continued existence even without him. Anyone who cares about music would no more destroy this instrument than he would a Stradivarius violin (to disregard for the moment the human aspect of the matter). And a broadcasting company which created the orchestra as a contribution to good music in 1937 would continue it today—with Cantelli, with other gifted younger conductors like Solti and van Otterloo, with some of the older men. This of course would cost money—more money than the fee for broadcasting the Boston Symphony next year; and so I come to the second point.

Actually NBC did not in 1937 create an additional new orchestra especially for Toscanini or give him any orchestra for his exclusive use. NBC's Red and Blue Networks already had staff orchestras of, I believe, sixty-five men each

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who were used in various "services"; from these the required number of men were assembled whose weekly "services" now included the rehearsals and performance for Toscanini's broadcast; and he complained bitterly and legitimately about having to work with players spoiled each week by what they did in their other "services"—players who sometimes came to his rehearsal straight from a two-hour rehearsal of dance music. What *was* done for Toscanini was to replace a number of men in the staff orchestras with higher-caliber players who were paid—but only the first years—higher salaries. And when NBC had to give up one network it had to engage extra players to bring its remaining staff orchestra up to symphony size for the twenty-odd weeks of the Toscanini broadcasts.

Certainly this cost money; certainly Toscanini and the other conductors cost additional money: in the seventeen years it all cost millions. But the suitable comment on that was made by NBC itself repeatedly in the fall of 1946, when it kept informing listeners to the NBC Symphony broadcasts that their cost that year was being borne by the network itself out of revenue from sponsored programs, and that they were thus part of "a balanced service of the world's finest programs" which, "sponsored directly or not," were "all dependent on the sound American plan of financing radio by advertising revenue." Which is to say that in 1946 NBC rightly considered its expenditure on the symphony broadcasts a fulfilment of its part of the bargain of the American system of broadcasting—the bargain that in return for the use of part of the public domain to make money the broadcaster undertakes to spend part of the money for programs of public service. That was NBC's position also in the early years of the NBC Symphony broadcasts, when, if I remember correctly, it considered them unsuitable for commercial sponsorship. And that should be its position today, when it discontinues the orchestra because it cannot get a sponsor without Toscanini.

Actually the original decision to spend the money for Toscanini and the NBC Symphony wasn't made entirely for the public's benefit: it also acquired for NBC the prestige of Toscanini's name, which NBC profited by in its sale of time and programs to advertisers (as CBS profited by the prestige of the New York Philharmonic). It was therefore an investment that brought a financial return; and in addition to this indirect return even when the broadcasts were unsponsored, there was the direct return later when they were sponsored. And lest anyone think I point this out in disapproval, let me say explicitly that I strongly approve of a broadcasting company, under the American commercial system, investing in a symphony orchestra and getting a return on its investment. But I contend further that even when there is no financial return on the investment, the company under the American system has the obligation NBC acknowledged in 1946.

Concerning those statements in 1946 about the "world's finest programs . . . dependent on the sound American plan of financing radio by advertising revenue" one could say then that the British plan of financing radio by license fees from owners of sets had proved equally sound and had given the British public even finer musical programs: the BBC, solely out of regard for music, had set up its BBC Symphony ten years before NBC, with one eye on the commercial value of Toscanini's name, set up the NBC Symphony (to say nothing of the difference between the American networks' broadcasting chiefly of the big-name orchestras and soloists and the Metropolitan Opera, and the BBC's systematic presentation of the entire musical literature). Today one can point out that the orchestra which the BBC created solely out of regard for music and paid for with license revenue still exists, whereas the orchestra which NBC created partly out of regard for the commercial value of Toscanini's name and paid for with the advertising revenue his name helped to bring in has, with his departure, been discontinued.

This, finally, was something the members of the orchestra had seen coming a long time and were prepared for. What they had not foreseen, what shocked and hurt them, was that nobody—from Mr. Sarnoff in his answer to Toscanini, all the way down to the man who dictated the formal notice of discontinuance on the bulletin board—thought of saying, in public or in private, one word of appreciation of the orchestra's distinguished achievements.

Letters

(Continued from inside front cover)

anti-Communist mystique to the literary section where he may rediscover his roots in congenial company.

South Gate, Calif. DANA PLATT

Dear Sirs: I read with interest the commentary by Mr. Frank in which he unfortunately falls prey to the very thing that a man of his repute presumably detests, the half-truth. In all fairness to him (and I recognize this as a valuable tool, necessary at times) if the writer did so in an attempt to gain emphasis then perhaps there is some justification. Note his sweeping generalization: "High thinking became a deterrent to trade. We still felt it sinful to live contrary to God's laws, so we changed the laws. It became 'God's will' that Americans live wealthy, comfortable, and with power and that these be the fruit of our virtue. . . . And all our power does not succeed in making two billion East Europeans, Asians, and Latin Americans behave as we do!"

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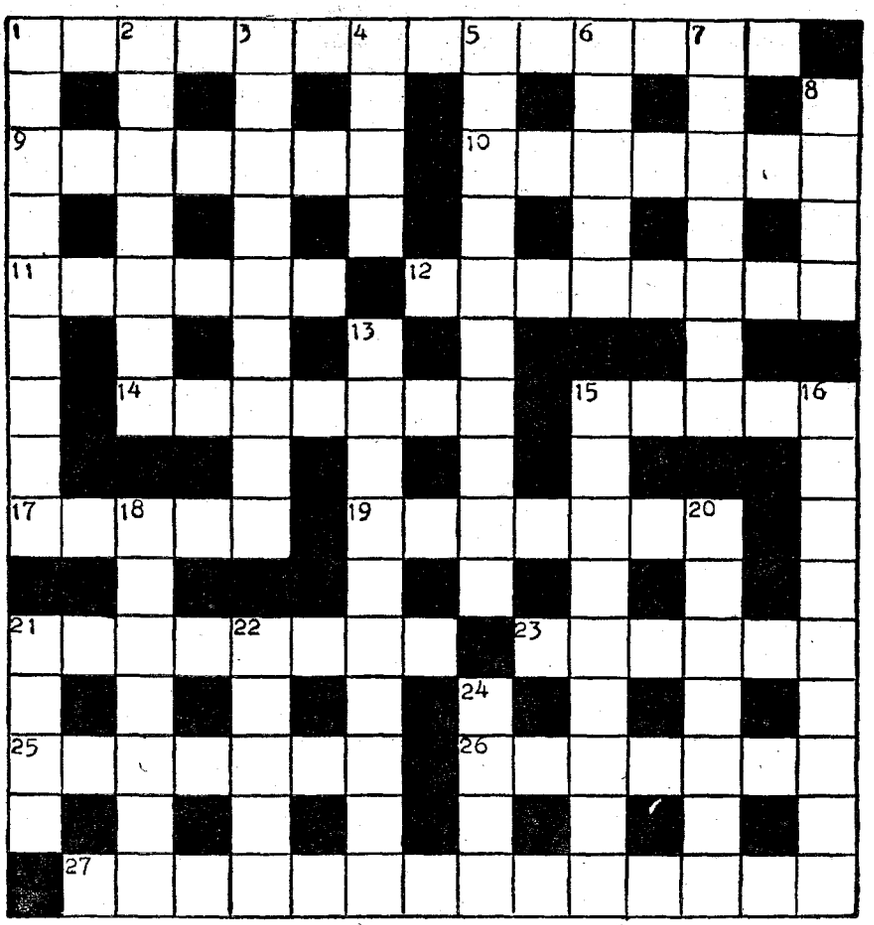

ACROSS

1 See 21 down.
9 Free - - - yet some charge to do it. (7)
10 Generation of vipers, or at least the family. (7)
11 No case for the gentleman of 1 across to be on! (6)
12 Gets near, but not quite to divert from use. (8)
14 One who takes a trip, perhaps, on foot? (7)
15 This ruler is certainly the head of a state! (5)
17 See 21 down.
19 Rushed away with a bag of it! (7)
21 See 21 down.
23 Here thousands are dressed to the highest degree. (6)
25 Father to Proteus. (7)
26 Take liberty, for example. (7)
27 Sometimes called living the consequence of simultaneous speech. (5, 3, 6)

DOWN

1 Few would emulate him in "Be Kind to Animals" week. (9)
2 and 8. Naturally slowed down if it loses its bearings; indoors it's likely to be tired. (6, 5)
3 A story about a hotel being built up in a number of years. (9)
4 Good listeners are all this. (4)
5 See 13 down.
6 It flowed ethereally from the choir. (5)
7 Spoken about noise in general. (7)
8 See 2 down.
13 and 5. Perform surgery with a ligature? (7, 2, 1, 10)
15 The low register of a clarinet. (9)
16 Fig-leaves? (5, 4)
18 He uses his 4 with good account, or checks it. (7)
20 Citrus fruit. (7)
21, 17 across, 21 across, 1 across. Propounded when salt becomes high? (4, 5, 2, 2, 4, 1, 7, 6)
22 Stick with a girl, it seems. (5)
24 Used for digging up the most common vegetable? (4)

—★—

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 575

ACROSS:—1 RACONTEURS; 6 MAIM; 10 and 11 NONSTOP FLIGHTS; 12 CROSSTIE; 13 CHEAT; 15 LILTS; 17 APPLIANCE; 19 CABALLERO; 21 SOUSA; 23 KURDS; 24 CHASTISE; 27 CREMATE; 28 INCLINE; 29 SUSA; 30 TROY WEIGHT.

DOWN:—1 and 2 RENT CONTROL; 3 NOTES; 4 EXPATIATE; 5 and 30 RIFLE BARRELS; 7 ACHAEAN; 8 MUSETTE BAG; 9 BISCUITS; 14 PLACE KICKS; 16 SALESMAN; 18 PROFANITY; 22 UPSWING; 24 CHEER; 25 TACHE; 26 HEAT.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

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